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The Protestant movement in Poland cast its net very wide. It marked all fields of social life. It is not surprising therefore that its influence can be seen also in the field of language. The aim of my paper is to show exactly how this movement affected the development of the Polish language. The Polish Renaissance was a time of the discovery of the world and man; language had to keep up with this development of thought and culture. Language played an especially important part in the struggle to realize the ideas of the Reformation. It participated in a decisive way in the forming of social consciousness. But at the same time it underwent a process of integration and normalization. This was because socially established meanings of words are necessary for the conveying of a message, hence the social demand for a common national Polish literary language.

In Poland up to and including the fifteenth century the official state language, the language of literature, the language of the Royal Chancellery and the language used in schools was in effect Latin.<sup>1</sup> The national and literary Polish language was formed in the sixteenth century. It was a period when the stimulating ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation came into Poland. The Polish language of the sixteenth century both from the point of view of its internal development and orthographic shape was not homogeneous. The first half of the sixteenth century or at least its first forty years was simply the continuation of the fifteenth century Polish language without any remarkable changes as regards the vocabulary and grammatical system as well as the function of the Polish language of that time. A radical change can be observed in the second half of the sixteenth century. We can say that only then was the literary Polish language finally formed.

The question then arises: what were the external factors which formed the common national Polish language of that time? There are a number of factors but it is generally agreed that there are three that were of the greatest importance. They were: the ideas of the Renaissance, the development of printing, and the Reformation.

Renaissance intellectual trends started infiltrating from Western Europe as early as the fifteenth century but increased and grew stronger during the reign of Sigismund the Old and Bona (first half of the sixteenth century). That period was characterised by lively Polish Italian contacts. Grzegorz of Sanok, Jan Łaski, the Royal Court and the Academy of Cracow were the main advocates of Renaissance ideas. The use of the Polish language as a tool for expressing the new ideas increased and grew stronger in the discussions and philosophical polemics aimed at finding new ways and new forms of living. But it should be remembered that the ideas of the Renaissance were in some way dangerous for the national language: a return to classical culture meant also a revival of the Classical languages both for scientific and artistic functions. This can be seen in the literary output of Krzycki, Dantyszek, Janicki, the essays and scientific works by Miechowita, Kromer, Frycz-Modrzewski and Orzechowski; all these authors lived in the sixteenth century and wrote in Latin. However, the general tendency of the Renaissance to encourage national cultures enabled the national language to win its position within a short time in Poland also.

The second factor influencing the formation of Polish was the development of printing. The printed books were influential in forming stylistic and linguistic taste because they reached not only the clergy and the Academy of Cracow but also the wide groups of the nobles, townspeople and the schools. The beginnings of printing in Poland go back to the 1470's. The early printing houses of Kasper Strauberg and Świętopełk Fiol in Cracow, Kasper Elyan in Wrocław and Konrad Baumgarten in Gdańsk did not however develop their activity on a large scale. In fact, only in the first half of the sixteenth century do we see radical changes in that field, especially where the printing of Polish texts is concerned.

Apart from Cracow the publishing movement developed in Królewiec (Königsburg now Kaliningrad), Pińczów, Nieśwież, Zamość, Poznań, Brześć, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Lwów - that means over nearly the whole of Poland. Piekarski calculated that in all, the printing-houses in Poland during the sixteenth century published three and a half million books, which was a very high number then.

This great development of printed literature had a crucial influence on the development of the language. The main aim was to unify the orthography and the forms of the letters but it also had an influence on

the unification of the linguistic norms. In fact we can say that the present-day Polish orthographic system was established in the sixteenth century.

Comparisons of sixteenth-century manuscripts and the printed versions of the same texts prove that the printers not only unified the spelling but also removed the regional features even in the texts of the most distinguished poets and writers like Marcin Bielski or Jan Kochanowski. And here the integrating role of the printing houses can be clearly seen.

The third very important factor influencing the development of the Polish language in the sixteenth century was the ideas of the Reformation. Their importance is clear when we realise that they embraced the whole of society the nobles, townspeople and the peasantry, whereas the ideas of the Renaissance had touched only a narrow section of intellectual life. It is also clear that the ideas of the Reformation as a factor influencing the development of the language are closely connected with the other two factors mentioned above: the ideas of the Reformation are interwoven with those of the Renaissance; they also promoted the development of printing.

The Church as a bulwark of feudalism was not interested in carrying out any reforms. This caused a polemic between the Reformation movement on the one side and the Catholic Church defending its positions on the other. Because the Reformation was not only religious but also social in nature, the range of those polemics was very wide; they drew in not only the nobles and townspeople but also, to a considerable extent, the country people. It is important to bear in mind that the ideas of the Reformation were used by the nobles in their fight with the Church and the lay Rulers. The new movement wanted to gain as many followers as possible, and it could only do this by generalizing the new ideas in the generally understood language. And here we touch probably the most important feature illustrating the close connection between the development of the language and the reform. It was clearly expressed in 1551 by Jan Seklucjan, a devoted follower of the ideas of the Reformation, in his introduction to the Lutheran translation of the New Testament which was dedicated to the King, Sigismund Augustus. He wrote "If Your Majesty were to join many kingdoms to the Kingdom of Poland, it would still not be to such advantage to your subjects as printing the Lord's words in Polish.

And if Your Majesty were to see to it as a matter of urgency that in Your Majesty's Kingdom He has His true glory; the Lord's word is preached freely and everything is translated and printed in Polish, then the Kingdom of Poland would regard Your Majesty her generous father or even an Angel of the Lord or a second Moses." The comparison of the role of Sigismund Augustus to that of Moses is certainly a dedicatory exaggeration but Seklucjan's claim undoubtedly reflected the needs of the society of that time.

One of the main tasks of the new social and religious movement was to offer the whole society a literature which would throw new light on the principles of faith and ethics. New translations of the Bible, the catechism, prayers and hymns were made. There is the *New Testament* translated by SEKLUCJAN-MURZYMOWSKI (1551-1552), and another translation of it by MALECKI (1552), the '*Brześć Bible*' (1563), the *Bible*, translated by CZECHOWICZ (1557), the *Catechism* translated by SEKLUCJAN (1556), and again by KRAINSKI (1598); then there were translations of hymn books by SEKLUCJAN (1547), WALENTY of BRZOSZOW (1554), BARTŁOMIEJ GROICKI (1559) and of many prayers and homilies.<sup>2</sup>

An important addition to this basic religious literature was the publication of large printings of tales based on the lives of the saints and plays of a satirical and/or comic character. This type of the literature was read very widely.

In connection with the religious and social polemics, discussions arose as to the dignity and correctness of the language in which these polemics were couched. These discussions included matters of orthography. It was possible to choose an archaism or a neologism, a more frequent form which was going out of use or a more rare form but based on the living language, or even forms characteristic of this or that region. We know that the most distinguished writers engaged in very lively correspondence regarding these problems with their print houses in Cracow. The discussions on the correctness of the language were often held by people who belonged to the same ideological party.

The most violent were the discussions on correctness of language in Królewiec (Königsberg, now Kaliningrad) which in the second half of the 16th century was, after Cracow, the most active centre of Polish printing and of the Reformation movement. Here the first popular catechisms in Polish, the first hymn books, the first complete translation of the

New Testament were published. Here in 1564 was published *Lexicon latino-polonicum* by Jan MACZYNSKI, the most distinguished work of Polish lexicography of the 16th century. In Królewiec there worked the very active printer and publisher Jan SEKLUCJAN. In 1545 he published a little popular catechism. This work was violently criticized from the linguistic and orthographical point of view by another printer and publisher from Królewiec Jan MALECKI. Malecki sent the copy of Seklucjan's catechism to the Church authorities together with his numerous corrections. One year later Malecki published a new popular catechism for the people, in his opinion much better in respect of its language. But Seklucjan gave Malecki as good as he got. He did exactly the same with the Malecki catechism as Malecki had done with his work. In that way Malecki was forced to write the extensive defence in which he justified the individual linguistic forms he had used. The discussion between Malecki and Seklucjan undoubtedly had the ring of merchants purveying their wares, but at least it helped the unified linguistic and orthographic norms to be established.

A very important role in forming and generalizing the common national language was played by the schools, managed in the spirit of the Reformation. Notable among them was the Calvinist school in Pińczów founded in 1551. Its principal was STATORIUS-STOJENSKI, the Frenchman who wrote the first grammar of the Polish language published in 1568. For its time it was a very good description of the Polish grammatical system. In the Lutheran schools in Toruń and Gdańsk, Polish was used to teach a wide range of subjects.

The activity of the representatives of the Reformation caused an increase in the intensity of Catholic propaganda. In order to reach the widest possible number of groups in society the Catholic writers also had to use Polish: they were forced to by their ideological opponents. Catholic editions of the *Bible* were published, among which the best known is the translation by Jan WUJEK (1593) still used in the Catholic Church today. Various editions of the catechism, religious songs and prayers were published. As examples we might mention here such works as *The Teaching of the Rightful Christian* by B. HERBEST (1566), *The Disputation with the Minister of the New Arian Protestant Church* by H. POWODOWSKI (1581), *The Bit for the Bawdy Mistakes and the Profanities of the New Arians* by the same author (1582), *About the Unity of the God's Church* by P. SKARGA (1577).<sup>3</sup> The Catholic works published at that time were much less nume-

rous than those published by the Protestant movement. However, they acted in favour of generalizing the national language and its development. In this sphere we can observe one more very interesting phenomenon. The social and philosophical writers who had written their works in Latin during the period of the intensive influence of Reformation ideas that were published in Polish, also now started to write their works in Polish. As examples we might note the names of KROMER and ORZECOWSKI who at the end of their lives started writing in Polish.

Till now we have been speaking about the influence of the Reformation on the external aspect of the development of Polish. The strong influence of the Reformation on its internal development can be observed as well. The point is that new words were introduced into the language in connection with the discussions and religious polemics and also that known words changed their meanings. All the changes we can observe in the Polish vocabulary could be motivated by the tendency to find new ways to express new ideological matters<sup>4</sup>. The most characteristic changes can be seen in the vocabulary regarding theology, morality and the organisation of the Church. Everywhere we can see a clear tendency to replace foreign terms, especially Latin or Greek, with native ones. Such Latin words as essentia, persona, attributum, testamentum were translated as istość, osoba, własność, przymierze. Even nowadays the Polish title of the Catholic translation of the Bible is Księgi Starego i Nowego Testamentu ("The Books of the Old and New Testament") while the Protestant version is Księgi Starego i Nowego Przymierza ("The Books of Old and New Covenant"). In the first case the word testament was used, in the second, przymierze. This was the external distinctive mark of the ideological differences. In many cases the Protestants changed one native word for another to emphasize the different motivation of the very close meanings. For example, the word pokuta (penance) is of Polish origin but in many Protestant translations it was replaced by other native words like upamiętanie się (sobering), pokajanie się (repenting) or even uznanie (recognition). In Polish since the 10th century, since the very early days of Christianity in Poland, kościół (church) was commonly used. It was so completely assimilated that nobody connected it with the Latin castellum, but rather with the Polish kości (bones). The word kościół (church) has two meanings: 1) the temple, the house of prayer, and 2) the community of the believers. Because of the

great importance of the second meaning the word kościół (church) was replaced in the Protestant movement with such words as zbor (meeting-house) zebranie (meeting) or zgrupowanie (gathering) which refer accurately to the more important meaning.

The linguistic changes provoked by the Protestant movement consisted also in creating new words. Before the sixteenth century the Latin adjective catholicus was translated as chrześcijański (Christian). The expression ecclesia catholica was translated as kościół chrześcijański (Christian Church). When the Reformation movement arose, the necessity to distinguish what is Catholic and what is non-Catholic occurred. The word katolicki (Catholic) after various trials was translated as  powszechny (common). This translation was done by Marcin KROMER who successfully created the new word used in the Polish language till today.

Very characteristic changes remained in the words designating a priest; they are connected with the different role of the priest in the Catholic and Protestant Church. These differences had to be reflected also in language. The word ksiądz (priest) designates only the priest in the Catholic Church while the word pastor (pastor) is used in the Protestant Church. The priest in the Orthodox Church is called pop (no English equivalent). The new words pastor and pop are borrowings in the Polish language. Every Protestant priest without reference to his place in the hierarchy can be called minister (minister). It is a mark of the humble role of the priest in this confession.

The Reformation movement in Poland was in the ascendancy for a very short time. It was most intensive in the sixties of the sixteenth century. Even at that time we can observe the very strong movement directed against it. This movement was called counter-reformation. Counter-reformation had almost completely won the struggle in Poland already by the end of the sixteenth century.

Nowadays in Poland Protestantism is concentrated in two small areas: in the South-western part of the country (the area of Cieszyn, Silesia) and in the North in Mazuria. The second area lies near the very strong former centre of the Reformation Królewiec (Königsberg, now Kaliningrad in the Soviet Union). Recently in one of the Mazurian towns, Mikołajki, a museum of Protestantism was opened.

In conclusion we can say that the Reformation in Poland had a very strong influence in forming the literary Polish language. It was one of



the most important factors stimulating the development of our language. We can see traces of this influence even nowadays. The main contribution of the Reformation movement to the development of the Polish language consists in the generalization of linguistic and orthographic norms and in enriching the vocabulary and stylistic significance of the words. Also, the first description of the Polish grammatical system was prepared by representatives of the Reform movement.

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